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Drapeer, The Nation's Educational Purpose



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THE AUTHOR**

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THE NATION'S EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE

An address

BY

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ANDREW S. DRAPER LL.D.

Commissioner of Education of the State of New York

BEFORE

The National Educational Association

At Asbury Park, New Jersey

July 4, 1905

THE NATION'S EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE

Mr President:

This day, a hundred twenty-nine years ago, the thirteen British colonies south of the St Lawrence river in America, through their Continental Congress, solemnly published and declared to the world that they absolved themselves from all allegiance to the British crown, that all political connection with the state of Great Britain was totally dissolved, and that they were and of right ought to be free and independent states.

It was the faith-exacting step of brave and daring souls. It was the natural, yes, the necessary, act of men with the blood of the Puritans of England, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Huguenots of France, and the Sea-beggars of Holland in their veins. It was even more natural and more imperative because of the manner of life and the independence of thought in the American wilderness. It was not an impulsive or precipitate act. It was the act of men who weighed the reasons, measured the results, and understood the consequences. From it there could be no retreat save in unthinkable dishonor. Once the golden bowl was broken there could be no restoration of the unity of the Empire. Subjugation and vassalage were as utterly impossible as voluntary retreat was unthinkable. There was no middle ground of compromise and only superficial thinkers could balance the possibilities of complete subjugation with those of successful revolution. Such a declaration, deliberately and solemnly made, for just cause, by such men, might be one year or forty years in fruition; but no one who understood the factors in the contest and realized the qualities in the Saxon race could seriously doubt what the end would be. Complete independence was inevitable if democratic government, as yet untried and essentially unformed, could stand the strain which war would put upon it. The alternatives were a new nation or unending insurrection.

War was, of course, the immediate sequence of the Declaration. Indeed, war was already well begun. With scrupulous purposer but unnecessary care, the Colonists had long before put the onus of the first shot upon the king's troops, through a measure of rebellion which made sure that the redcoats would have to take the burden. With prophetic foresight and consummate skill, the provincials had used the fatuity of their enemy to make oneness of sentiment for the great Declaration. With a just intellectual valuation of the

guaranties of the Great Charters of English liberty they combined the heroic physical qualities which had breathed into those charters the living spark of eternal fire. Lovers of liberty, students of political history, masters of decent diplomacy, they were past masters in the grim art of wilderness warfare.

When war was the only hope of English liberty, the fact that it had to be made against a dull and obstinate king and a lascivious and recreant political cabinet only strengthened the heart and sharpened the sword for it. Success might be delayed in coming, might wait in tears; but that she would bide her time and come in peace and glory by and by was as sure as the breaking of the day and the beaming of the sunlight. And glorious success did come after seven dreadful and fateful years.

The winning of such success did much for the men and women who gained it and much for liberty as well. It not only brought an independent nation into being, but it opened an entirely new epoch in the development of political institutions. It gave new and distinct energy to the intellectual, industrial and economic evolution of mankind. It opened the way for the compounding of a new nation and the outpouring of a new civilization in America. It did much more: it brought a new order of democracy, a new measure of opportunity, a new inspiration to high thinking and to splendid doing to all the people in all the world.

We may well celebrate the Anniversary of the Declaration. It is the greatest day in English as in American history. Then it is the greatest day in all secular history. It is the day upon which the barons forced the old king to sign the Great Charter in the meadows of Runnymede. It is the day upon which Cromwell was made Lord Protector of England and the Puritan revolution reached its culmination. It is the day upon which the first plan of colonial union in America was adopted at Albany. It is the day upon which the American nation was born at Philadelphia. It is the day upon which Vicksburg answered back to Gettysburg that the Union should be preserved and that the most beneficent democracy of the world should live to bless other generations of men and women. If the greatness of days is to be determined by what they signify to political and religious freedom and human progress then the fourth day of July may well be observed in England and America and in all the world as the greatest day in secular history.

Our nation is the product of the two most remarkable human migrations and of the two most eventful compoundings of people known to the world—one in Britain and the other in America, a thousand years apart. Who shall say that we do not inherit the

best blood of all the nations and the finest heroisms in all human history? Our fathers of the colonial era were the men of their race and of their generation who would be free. They had the qualities which would not be denied.

Nor is there essential difference with the men and women who in later years have come from over the sea to have part in the making of the greater nation. Ireland and Italy and the Scandinavian countries and the great German Empire have sent brawn and muscle and wit and art to uncover our resources, to quicken our industries, to warm the heart and liberalize the thinking of Puritanism. Skepticism has been obliged to recede before the demonstration that each new, great migration has brought a new element of strength and a new measure of completeness to the equipment of the nation. Puritanism—call it by what distinguishing name you will—was doubtless the most sublime force which ever developed among men for giving liberty and aiding learning. It was the honest, harsh, necessary instrument which alone could break out the roads over which democracy might advance. It gave birth to the British nation and to English freedom; it gave birth to the American nation and to a new measure of English freedom in America. But it must no longer be denied that the factors which have come into the life of the American nation since the high noon of the nineteenth century, have, through the mixing, and through what we have been jointly doing, produced a newer nation, with feeling and outlook, and power and purpose, which were beyond the ken of Puritanism.

Here we are, eighty millions of people. We are doing our own thinking. We are having our own will. But our thinking, when of general concern, is logical; our will, before it becomes the nation's will, is a disciplined will, guided by reason, without malice and without fear, determined, yet tempered by goodness and justice and mercy.

Our thinking and our doing have prospered us. We have administered our material and intellectual estate. We have exploited our resources. We have developed industrial energy and inventive genius. We have taken proper advantage of our commercial situation. We have been apt and exact in our scientific progress and, what is better, we have applied science to the life of the multitude. We have achieved a high order of technological skill and, what is better, we have not been wanting in the courage of our engineering, or lacked in the power to consummate great undertakings. Almost spontaneous wealth has become our greatest menace, but we give promise of strength to cope with it. In letters we have been eminently respectable and are fast accumulating a

distinctive national literature. Exacting study and free discussion make us experts in political philosophy. The manhood suffrage encompasses our public service with some difficulties but we are gaining in system and growing in knowledge through the doing, and in the end, on all matters of large import, we are secure. Our propensity for organization is strong and at times amusing; but our institutional life is singularly virile and effective. We are not quarrelsome. Our good nature and sense of humor are marked. They relieve the strains upon democratic theory, help on community business, make for comity between the states, aid national unity, and promote intellectual good fellowship, in a measure which is useful and unique. The wit and good nature of our maturer years, associated with our marvelous growth in population and strength, with our logical progress in democratic theory and our unhesitating faculty in mobilizing the common power, with our veneration for freedom and our sense of moral right, with our sincere desire for peace and our anxiety to settle differences by discussion, concession and the rule of right and law, and with our undoubted readiness to meet force with ample force when the stern need comes upon us, have given us an attitude of prominence and a measure of influence among the nations which we did not even know we wanted and which no one foresaw.

But the nation is resourceful and rises to occasions. It accepts the logical though unforeseen consequences of its situation, of the form of government which it believes has made it great, of the political philosophy by which it is known of all men, and of the world relations which its career has put upon it. It does not seek to obtrude its beliefs upon other nations but it will not recede from its beliefs before any other nation. It distinctly avoids entanglements but it will not refuse moral encouragement to other peoples who will seek liberty and independence. It expects to control the Western continent in the interest of freedom and progress because it holds that such control is essential to its own security and the full fruition of the ideals for which it stands. In the rescue of Cuba it struck the high water mark of self-government for the good of mankind. It will seek no territory for the sake of empire; it will oppress no people for the sake of population: but it permits none to thwart the end for which it stands, and it refrains from no act which may be consequent upon its logically unfolding life.

Our nation has by no means reached either the bigness or the greatness which its common sentiment anticipates. Its people have not been conspicuous for blindness or for dullness. They know that the lives of nations are not brief and that the laws of nations are unceasing. They know that our territory would sustain

many times our present population, and they expect that many, many millions more will come to the freedom which the Republic offers and the institutions which its freedom has developed. Their anticipations would not be severely shocked if the flag of the Union should yet cover all of the land from the Arctic ocean to the Isthmus of Darien, with here and there another island on the great high seas. They are by no means eager for this. Indeed, they face with solicitude what seems to be the inevitable advance in population, in territory, in domestic administration, and in international responsibility.

The nation is being sobered by its present and future responsibility in view of the self-conscious power of its democracy and of the manifest thought of its citizens that all men and women in all lands ought to have the opportunity to learn the art of governing themselves and that as fast as they do learn it, self-government ought to encompass the earth.

The nation does more, and its life depends upon it doing more, than merely meet the emergencies which its own evolution and external conditions impose upon it. It is a purposeful nation. It has always faced the East. It has always worn its heart upon its sleeve. It has always planned for the future. With the growth in material and intellectual estate, with the reaching-out of the common sentiment for the best opportunities for every one, with the new significance of our political theories in the affairs of all men, wherever they may be,—there have come purposes and policies which are new to our own thinking and certainly new to the thinking of the other peoples of the world.

The greatest, the very greatest, of these, for obvious reasons, are those which concern universal and liberal education. And a great national association of teachers, assembled on Independence day, in overwhelming numbers from every state, may well reflect upon the concept which it entertains of the purposes of this mighty people toward popular education. With knowledge of the utter inadequacy of a single mind for such a task, but gathering courage from the fact that I am only to formulate and not attempt to create, I submit these observations concerning the educational purposes of this free-thinking but sound-thinking democratic nation.

Schools are not of recent origin. Learning, speaking relatively, is as old as the race. But any definite national purpose to erect schools for distinct national ends is comparatively new, and the self-conscious generation of a great national system of education by a people for their own upbuilding and for the greatness of their nation has come within the memory of living men and is essentially peculiar to this country.

It spite of threadbare claims, the original settlers in America held no settled purposes concerning education which can be differentiated from those of their home lands. How meager and undefined the educational purposes of the mother countries were, the student very well knows.

Before independence, American schools were dissociated and fragmentary. There was no educational system. The schools, like those over the sea, distinguished between what were conceived to be the simpler needs of the peasantry and the necessity of classical training of the higher classes for service in the church and state.

Independence did not of itself fertilize and did not reflect educational purpose. Neither the Declaration, nor the Constitution a dozen years later, carried any reference to it. This was not because the management of the schools had already come to be a function of the several states and they were unwilling to concede that it was a function of the nation. The matter attracted no attention. It was scarcely referred to in the congressional discussions. Nor was this in turn because the men of the Continental Congress and of the Constitutional Convention were illiterate or were indifferent to learning. They averaged the best scholarship among public men in their generation. Half of them were graduates of colleges. As you, Mr President, have pointed out in another place, the dominant personalities in the Constitutional Convention were Alexander Hamilton, of Columbia, and James Madison, of Princeton, universities. Education had no part in the discussions and found no place in the Declaration or in the Constitution because education was held to be a matter of only local and private concern, and not a function of organized government at all.

Nor was the federal Constitution alone lacking in educational initiative. The first constitutions of the original states contained only slight references to education. In Georgia, North Carolina and Pennsylvania the Legislature was enjoined to see that one or more schools were erected in each county. The Massachusetts and New Hampshire references were more comprehensive but less definite. Massachusetts made detailed provision for Harvard College. The North Carolina and Pennsylvania articles were identical and enjoined that the Legislature should so arrange that the public "might be enabled to instruct youth at low prices." This was in conformity with the common thought that it was not the function of the state to maintain schools, although the state might help the people to do it economically. The constitutions of the eight other original states made no reference whatever to schools or to education.

It would be interesting to follow the statutes as well as the constitutions of the original states for educational references. We must for now be content with the statement that they were meager indeed. Old usage, the foreign influence, the fact that thought would run in established grooves, the distances and the difficulties of communication, made the evolution of educational purpose a slow and laborious one. The fathers did not bring it all with them when they came; it unfolded very slowly: England and America in the first half of the last century were educationally, not so very far removed from the times of Elizabeth; educational outlook and purpose grew out of our democratic life, and the stronger and freer that life became the more rapid and the more virile did it grow.

As democracy really became free, and as the conventionalities of the mother political system came to be really obsolete, the educational purpose gained volume and force. It is the operation, not the mere declarations or enactments, of our governmental system that has developed popular purpose. As the people moved West, they managed their own affairs with added confidence and more freely, and as rapidly as they did the educational purpose grew decisively.

While the first constitutions and laws of the original states made little or no reference to it, those of all of the newer states were alive with it. They were not only alive with provisions for the elementary schools which should be common to all, but for higher schools, colleges and universities which should also be common to all. And while the Eastern States do not know it, and are stolidly determined that they will not learn it, there is no doubt whatever about the public educational purpose having its most luxuriant development among the people who exercise their political power more freely and more uniformly in the newer states of the Union. Wherever caste has been most completely overthrown; wherever the aptitude for self-direction has had its freest growth; wherever the fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created with equivalent and inalienable rights has had its largest acceptance, there the educational purpose of America has had its best exemplification and there it has borne its most abundant fruit.

It is hardly too much to say that the first educational declaration, which was really more serious than ornamental, in American law was that in the ordinance organizing the old Northwest territory; and that the initiatory step in the public policy of setting aside the common property for popular education, which was really potential and continuing, appears in the uniform legislation of the

newer states which set aside a section of land in every township for the aid of schools.

As more recent immigration has given unexpected strength and completeness to the equipment of the nation, so recent immigration has given a new setting and a new meaning to the educational purpose which flickered feebly in the minds of our fathers of the Revolution. Some new immigrants have appreciated our privileges better than some of us have ourselves. Ireland and Italy and France have enriched our scheme with wit and rhythm and color. Scotland has added moral fiber and mental virility. Norway and Sweden and Denmark have sent agricultural insight and domestic thrift. The great German Empire has contributed scientific method, intensive mechanical skill and splendid energy and stability, to the conception which was begotten and then for a time held in check by English and Dutch pioneers.

The educational purpose of this nation is a law unto itself. It is a force which all must regard. It acts upon government. It does not desist, it is not discouraged, when government hesitates or statesmen cannot see. It is independent of dogmatism, of politics, of racial prejudice or religious bigotry, of language, of state or sectional lines, of partizanship or exclusiveness, of selfishness or sectionalism in every form.

Old Andrew Melville, to the king's very face, told James the Sixth—he who hunted our Pilgrim Fathers out of England—"There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland and in one of them James is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but only an ordinary member." So we say there are two governments in America. One is strictly technical, is exactly regulated by written laws, is definitely responsible to the political sentiment of the country; while the other is a pervasive, universal democracy of sense, of moral purpose, and of learning, with an unwritten, free flowing constitution which shapes government to its purposes, and in which presidents and governors and senators are weighed by the same standards as all the rest.

Then I may well—parenthetically—express the satisfaction we all have in the fact that the Mayor of our greatest city, whom we have just listened to with so much interest, has citizenship in the democracy of learning, is not only the son of a respected commander of the Union armies, but a son of Princeton University as well.

And I may go farther and voice the satisfaction we all have in the other fact that the present Chief Magistrate of the Republic, whom we shall hear at this session, is a foremost son of our foremost university, a hard student and a fine scholar, a prolific and forceful writer, our most accomplished public speaker, a moral force of

unprecedented readiness and effectiveness in the presidency; a true exemplar of the nation's strength, and a splendid evangel of the nation's prayer for peace and truth throughout the Union and throughout the world. Without any interest in partizanship, and without any fear of official power, the National Educational Association, on Independence day, may with all propriety express its satisfaction that the scholarship, the moral sense, and the chief magistracy of the nation meet so splendidly in the person of Theodore Roosevelt.

The educational thought of America has no inclination toward socialism if socialism means paternalism. It holds that the Declaration decrees equality of right under the law and not equality of result in spite of moral and legal right. With legal right it makes personal accountability fundamental in our political system.] It opens the door of opportunity to all; but it takes from no man the fruit of his energy and endurance, of his knowledge and skill, of his patience and his thrift, to repair the just consequences of another man's worthlessness. It not only accepts, it is the surest bulwark of, the fundamental principles of our democratic institutions; it approves the fabric of laws which the wisest men of the race have been a thousand years in the weaving, and it is not disposed to avoid the operation of those higher laws which are from everlasting to everlasting.

There is no smack of charity about the public educational system of America. It is for all. It is the universal and inalienable right of every man and woman, every son and daughter of the realm. It is the corner stone of our scheme, the essential factor of our governmental plan.

If there are children in the schools who need help; if there are others who are not in the schools because they need help, let them have the aid of private or public charity. That is not lacking: men and women who administer it are experienced in dealing with the needy. Aid so extended, will not breed pauperism and it will not put the school system in a false light. The public schools are to train virile men and women, not to support the thriftless or the unfortunate. People are to be made to support themselves if they may; if not they are to be helped, as a boon, not as a legal right. It is as fundamental that people shall suffer the inevitable consequences of their own misdoing, even of their own misfortune—except where our moral sense relieves them—as that they shall have opportunity, and have their reward for making the most of opportunity. One principle is the necessary complement of the other. Education is an inalienable right in America. It is the essence of equality in opportunity. Support is not a legal right. The two

should not be confused in the common thinking. The schools have all that they can do. It would be most unwise to weight them with any unnecessary burdens, or involve them in popular misapprehension through confusion over fundamental principles. Let the schools train. Let private philanthropy and organized charity give such support to the needy as good sense and good fellowship will justify.

The educational purpose of the nation reaches forward to the very mountain tops of human learning. Be not deceived,—it is not only for a free elementary school within reach of every home, but for a free high school in every considerable town, and for a free university in every state. It of course accepts the endowed universities as component parts of the educational system. They afford a fair realization of its ideal in some states; but it insists that such shall articulate with the public secondary schools and, in one way or another, assure every boy and every girl the true chance which the plan and the progressive thought of the nation guarantee. If not then it insists that the states shall do this through higher institutions of their own.

It does not insist that every one must go to the higher institutions. It recognizes wide differences in the circumstances, the work, and the outlook of men and women. It distinguishes between the kinds of learning which are best suited to differing and inevitable conditions of life. It does insist that the political security and the economic power of the nation rest upon the moral sense and the common disposition to produce, and not exclusively, nor even very largely, upon philosophic theory, upon moneyed wealth, or upon a mere knowledge of literatures or of the fine arts. Longing for culture, it knows that the only true culture must result from doing, and that polish at secondhand, transmitted without labor, is neither deep nor true.

It does not accept the rather general implication that honor and usefulness depend upon intellectual pursuits. It does not encourage all children to seek them. It would make the work of the schools aid the industries, and it would give quite as much prominence and quite as much honor to manual skill as to intellectual occupations.

It stands for a balanced educational system,—the best and broadest that can be made, and therefore good enough for all, in which every one may find what he will, may go as far and as high as he will; and not for a system which dignifies any interest or aids any class as against any other. In a word, it believes in schools of every grade and for every purpose, with equality of opportunity and absolute freedom of selection for all; and with special privileges

We hold all endowed institutions of learning as part of the public educational system of the country. We look upon private and proprietary institutions, if moved by correct influences and managed by proper methods, to be deserving of aid and commendation. We give to sectarian and denominational schools our fraternal regard and professional cooperation. We express our regret that any may think it necessary to decline the privileges of the public school system and maintain schools at their own expense, on conscientious grounds. If we can not accept their thought, we will recognize sincerity wherever it is convincing. We will articulate, as far as we may, with every educational activity calculated to quicken the nation's moral sense or uplift the nation's intellectual life.

It is the overwhelming, and we believe the settled American opinion that neither the federal power nor that of any state can sustain a business relation with, or give financial aid to, or divide its responsibility with, any class or interest not common to every citizen and every section; but that affords no ground for irritation between any class or sectional interest on the one side and any phase of the state or federal power on the other. Indeed, if the state can not give its money to expensive work which enters into the building of the nation, it may well give to that work the fullest measure of moral encouragement which may be welcome. In a word, we can give special aid to none as against another, but we will go to the verge of fundamental and constitutional principles, with all toleration of opinions and all true heartedness, to bind together all of the moral forces and all of the intellectual activities of all sects and parties for the further upbuilding of the nation.

We recognize the public obligations to afford information, to extend culture, and to aid self-improvement outside of the schools. There has been no more radiant sign of encouragement in our history, none, indeed, in any history, than the manifest eagerness of the adult masses for knowledge. We hold that sound policy will give to libraries and study clubs and all the means for study at home, an unstinted measure of generous public aid and encouragement. Whatever adds to the real enlightenment of the multitude, adds to the happiness, the strength and the security of a republic which rests upon the common intelligence and equality of rights for all.

It is fundamental in America that women shall have the same educational opportunities as men. The opportunities are not to be merely equivalent in the opinion of men; they are to be identical when demanded by the common thought of women. All offerings are to be open and the right of election is to be free. The sentiment is growing that the education of men and women must be in

the same institutions, if the opportunities are to be even; that there is no moral reason why this should not be so; and that good morals, good sense, and the soundest educational ends are promoted by having it so. It is practically universal in the primary and secondary schools. There is yet some prejudice against it in the older states, concerning the colleges and universities, but logic, justice and experience are ripening sentiment and concluding the matter.

No other country and no other age ever dreamed of such private benefactions to learning as we have become accustomed to. The common impulse honors the benefactors and holds the gifts to be sacred and inviolable public trusts. They must be neither impaired nor misdirected. The laws must assure the ends for which they are created; public sentiment must see that trustees execute the purpose of the givers with exactness. No one can foresee the influence of these benefactions. They will gain great ends which are often outside the legal powers of organized government. They will round out and complete the undertakings of government. They will ornament and embellish the educational structure which government erects. They may experiment in fields where democracy must hesitate until the ground is proved. The public educational system will aid them and be aided by them. Combining unprecedented public purpose and public powers with unparalleled private beneficence, the United States will develop the most universal, complete and potential scheme of education that the wisdom and great-heartedness of man has devised.

Of course, our democracy has its difficulties. Equality of opportunity, from the first school to the last one, with continuity of courses from the elementary work in the primary schools to the research work in the universities present difficulties which do not confront the educational system of any other land. It is far easier for a minister of education without interference to arrange and administer all this than it is for a whole people to do it. But it is better for the people to do it. And the people tax themselves with doing more than ever confronted any minister of education. The zeal of the people, with fulness of opportunity, often puts more upon the teachers than they are able to do completely. There is seeming uncertainty and indefiniteness. But we must not forget that the people grow in strength and stature through doing things for themselves. It is the fulness of opportunity and the self-conscious power, and the knowledge that consequences may be corrected if need be, that is rounding out the educational system to its unprecedented proportions and its unparalleled effectiveness. We will

go on doing things, meeting difficulties, correcting mistakes, bringing the perfect figure out of the barren rock, and gaining the splendid ends for which the people sustain the schools.

We are never to forget that the schools are not only to educate people in order that they may be educated, but to educate them in order that they may *do things*. They are to be trained for labor and for effectiveness. We need to have things done and we expect to make greater men and women through the doing. Through the training they are not only to unlock the truths of science, but apply them to the agricultural and mining and animal and mechanical industries; they are to think out economic principles and understand the under-running currents of foreign commerce and world relations; they must know the underlying principles of finance and apply them to personal and public credits; they are to abound in toleration and work with others in the institutions of society; they are to stand for knowledge; they are to respect labor; they are to exact the right and do it; they are to bring out the resources, help the thrift, stir the humor, enlarge the generosity, increase the self-respect, and quicken the sense of justice of the nation. We want both moral power and earning power. The schools must help to make the pupils and the people know that the attitude of the Republic in the world is nothing different from the attitude of the individual units which make the nation. There is no one-man-power, no ministerial power, no money power, no specious but fallacious philosophy, going to rule this country. This is a democracy,—native energy and discussion will point the way.

The educational purpose of America is sharply distinguished from that of other lands. The essential difference comes through our democracy.

The English purpose would have every English child read and write and work. England has simple but effective elementary schools for the peasant class. All peasant children go to them. Although they know nothing of American opportunity the percentage of illiteracy is lower than in any American state. So it is in the leading countries of Europe. We have something to learn and something to do about that. Of course, they have advanced schools for the higher classes. There is no educational mixing of classes and no articulation or continuity of work. The controlling influence in English politics is distinctly opposed to universalizing education, through fear of unsettling the status and letting loose the ambitions of the serving classes. The placidity of the social organization seems of more moment to them than the strength of the empire.

So it is also in France. Notwithstanding the republican form of government, the thinking of a thousand years is controlling. With less native sense and less respect for work, with more inherent buoyancy and more art feeling than in Britain, the children of the masses are trained for service—an humble service, though possibly somewhat higher than across the channel. They are trained for examinations and for routine rather than for power. With less fiber and substance in the character commonly trained, the result is not more reassuring.

There is more to admire in the German purpose and plan, for fiber and quality and ambition and determination are not lacking in the nation and the Kaiser knows that the material strength and the military power of the German Empire rests upon the intelligence of the German masses and the productivity of German labor. Splendid as that is, it is not enough in American eyes.

We have a fast hold upon all that, and more. We want more than industrial strength and military power. We do not know all that is to be known; we may learn something from every other system; but there is an essential and universal educational purpose in America which distinguishes our system from all others. We will have no classes in education. We are for the equal chance for all. Even more—much more: We are for moral greatness and it is the national belief that the true greatness of the nation and the welfare of mankind depend not only upon giving every one his chance, but in aiding and inspiring every one to seize his chance.

We have no fear of consequences. We rest our future upon the faith that the happiness and the beneficent influence of America must rest upon the average of enlightenment, upon the measure of serious and potential work, and upon the attendant level of moral character, attainable by all the men and women who live under our flag.

The corner stone principle of our political theory coincides absolutely with the fundamental doctrine of our moral law. All men and women are to be intellectually quickened and made industrially potential, to the very limits of sane and balanced character. The moral sense of the people is determined by it and the nation's greatness is measured by it. Before this fact the prerogative of a monarch or the comfort of a class is of no account. Before it every other consideration must give way. It is right here that democracies which can hold together surpass monarchies. It is for this reason that the progressive will of an intelligent people is better than the hereditary and arbitrary power of kings. And a sane and balanced and boundless educational system, with a base which is

